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Reviving Citizenship in the New Gilded Age

Excerpts from an article written by Henry Institute Director Kevin R. den Dulk for the *CARDUS* 2015 Comment Magazine. The full article is available at: www.cardus.ca

Social scientists are gap-minders. We fixate on gender gaps, racial gaps, generation gaps. We obsess over salary gaps, health gaps, housing gaps, education gaps. A few years ago I co-authored a book on the political relevance of the “God gap” among voters in presidential elections. Even the divine defines our gaps.

We have many reasons for our preoccupation. One is simply that they present an intriguing empirical puzzle. But the more interesting reason is normative: There is often something troubling about gaps. Not all of them, to be sure. While I’m a foot taller than my wife, the disparity matters mainly in basketball and access to high cupboards, not to our moral dignity or possession of rights. But in some cases, the existence of a gap appears to violate a treasured value or principle.

Economic inequality has become the dubious gap *du jour*. Pope Francis has repeatedly placed before Christians the injustices of modern poverty and “economies of exclusion.” President Obama has likened confronting income inequality to the moonshot of the 1960s. Prominent academics have made opportunity gaps and class distinctions the central themes of their recent work. Pundits of every ideological stripe have raised similar concerns, and sizable majorities in the U.S., Canada, and across Europe have identified the divide between rich and poor as a big problem that is getting worse.

But even popes, presidents, and political scientists can’t compete on the issue with a certain French economist labouring in the dusty archives of early twentieth-century tax rolls. That celebrity belongs to Thomas Piketty, professor at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* and the Paris School of Economics. He sprang from relative obscurity to *Time Magazine*’s list of the “100 Most Influential People of 2014” (in the “icon” category, alongside Taylor Swift and Björk). He owes his fame largely to a 599-page book of economic history, his unlikely international bestseller, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*.

All of this ferment suggests that we’ve reached an untenable point in how societies distribute goods. But what are these “goods”? It’s natural to point to the economic effects of economic inequality, especially on basic needs such as housing, nourishment, and health. But the non-economic goods might be “basic” in their own

way. Consider the good of citizenship. It is difficult to imagine a good that is more basic to democracy, and economic inequality has profound impacts on its practice.

Piketty’s thesis is summarized in a signature formula: $r > g$, where r equals the rate of return on capital and g equals the rate of economic growth (i.e., growth in output and income from labour). So if r is almost always greater than g in a given year, and if that difference is compounded year after year, the gap will widen between those with substantial wealth (e.g., real estate, factories, intellectual property, financial investments) and those who rely largely on earned income from wages.

That is precisely the “force of divergence” that Piketty charts through economic history. What’s more, even the labourers who have enjoyed extreme increases in (ostensibly) earned income in recent years—“super managers” like hedge fund directors and others in hyper-compensated positions—will turn much of their largesse into legacies of inherited wealth for their families within another generation. As a result of these forces, we face a new version of oligarchy, or what Piketty calls “patrimonial capitalism.”

Oligarchy? Patrimonialism? These are provocative descriptors for the problem. But what *precisely* is the problem? After all, developed economies in western democracies have always



*Social scientists are gap-minders...
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tolerated—even embraced—inequalities in wealth and income. We need an account of the values that growing inequality offends.

And here is where the most interesting (and basic) point gets lost: the problem isn’t really economic inequality. Inequality is driving something else; it’s a force for a different kind of divergence. The problem is how inequality shapes *democracy*.

Piketty is leveling a charge that goes to the root of modern democratic values. Over the long haul of history, the market reproduces economic inequalities that become increasingly arbitrary (e.g. income from inheritance) and therefore not meritocratic (i.e. based in choice). It ought to be possible for even the least advantaged, through

continued on page 2

After considerable planning, extensive writing, and designing a fresh format, the new Henry Institute website was rolled out in mid-December. Use the following “sitemap” to explore at <http://henry.calvin.edu/>.

Resources	Programs	Projects	News & Events	Engage	About the Institute
What's Coming Up?	Symposium on Religion and Public Life	Henry Institute Projects	Upcoming Events	Engage with the Henry Institute	About the Henry Institute
Find a Publication	Semester in Washington D.C.	Religious Freedom	Past Henry Institute Events	Religion and School Choice	Mission and Vision
Explore a Topic	Henry Lecture	China's Protestantism	Symposium on Religion and Public Life	The Civic Role of Faith-Based Schools	Paul B. Henry
See Past Lectures	Rule of Law	Citizen Mobilization in Africa		Religious Freedom	What We Do
Read the Newsletter	Research Fellows	School Choice		Faith and Voting	Books
		Religious Persecution		Faith-Based Social Services	Staff Directory
					Archives
					Contact Us

Reviving Citizenship in the New Gilded Age (continued from page 1)

the rights and opportunities they share with the wealthiest and most powerful, to have their voice heard or make their way out of their economic station by their merit. But the system is stacked against them.

Piketty tries to tackle the problem when he weighs a host of regulatory and tax-based reforms in the final section of *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* [and] here the terms of the discussion seem misplaced. Piketty suggests changes that entail citizen engagement with the state. But an unstated message of Piketty's book is that the gap between rich and poor has soured people on the democratic process itself. If inequality is undermining that

engagement. Even those citizens who are reasonably knowledgeable about inequality and view it as a problem are often skeptical about a policy response because they don't trust policy-making institutions.

So Piketty has given us economic policy prescriptions without first taking stock of the more basic problem of the impoverishment of *citizenship* throughout western democracies. It is not clear how to address *that* problem by tweaking the economy, because that assumes a citizenry ready to do so. If we're going to counter increasing inequality, we need a revival of citizenship first.

The point is that the democratic challenge posed by inequality is not simply about economics or politics narrowly understood; it is about culture. It's why addressing inequality means enlisting the institutions of culture-making, and particularly those organizations and associations within civil society—including the church—that are so demonstrably important to fostering democratic citizenship.

It can be helpful to illustrate the point by considering economic mobility, a key part of the story of inequality. Some of the most rigorous recent studies, most notably by the Harvard-based Equality of Opportunity Project, have concluded that economic mobility hasn't changed much

in the last thirty years in western democracies. But that does not necessarily suggest we simply have to get our economic policies in order. While the authors of the Harvard study are careful not to assert clear causal explanations, they did find a strong relationship between economic mobility and a variety of factors. Some are obviously rooted in economics (e.g., parental income), but many are not: racial desegregation, stability of family, and—most important—the presence of two parents, quality schools, and a few other variables. A 2015 study by the same research groups added the crucial importance of safe neighbourhoods to the mix. Robert Putman in *Our Kid* suggests a host of similar explanations in the specific experience of youth, including their experience of church. A clear takeaway of this sort of analysis is that the richness and moral depth of one's social network is a strong predictor of *both* healthy citizenship norms and economic mobility, and those networks are not simply defined by *r* and *g*.

Piketty and others who focus on economic gaps in modern democracies are clarions. They remind us that economic inequality is intolerable when it undermines values that give shape to the body politic. But those values do not exist simply because we protect them from threat; they exist because they are built in culture. ~

...the richness and moral depth of one's social network is a strong predictor of both healthy citizenship norms and economic mobility...

grand assumption of democracy—that we all have a (roughly) equal say in the fate of the body politic—then why have confidence in the democratic process to address inequality in the first place?

We have good reason to worry about a democratic fix to inequality's threat to democracy. Nearly everywhere we see evidence of decline in social trust and tolerance, alarmingly low levels of political knowledge, and eroding civic

Faith and Citizen Mobilization in Africa

In August of 2014, the Henry Institute helped sponsor a workshop bringing together scholars of religion and politics, practitioners engaging in citizen mobilization, and additional participants for “Citizen Mobilization in Africa: A Role for Christian Organizations?” for six days in Stellenbosch, South Africa. The event constituted an effort to begin considering whether there is a role for Christian organizations in fostering good citizenship in Africa—a question which arises in the face of two trends facing the African continent: stalled progress in democratization in the face of corruption, power centralization, weak rule of law, and diminishing accountability and transparency—with many African citizens disaffected and disengaged from public life; and the quickly rising number of African Christians, accompanied by increased political involvement and voice on the part of churches.

The participants grappled with questions surrounding Christian organizational activities as they relate to fostering citizenship, how African Christians understand citizenship and its responsibilities, and the potential consequences of Christian organizations’ involvement in citizen mobilization. Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk attended the inaugural workshop, and spoke with participants about the Institute’s mission of productively engaging Christians in politics and public life. (*See sidebar*)



Workshop Participants

Conference organizers Tracy Kuperus (Calvin College) and Amy Patterson (Sewanee University of the South) have produced a booklet, “Responsible Citizenship: Faith-Based Mobilisation in Sub-Saharan Africa” summarizing the workshop themes and providing examples of faith-based organizations and non-government organizations engaged in citizen mobilization. Kuperus and Patterson are also publishing a paper on

two of the faith-based organizations featured in the workshop: JL Zwane Centre and the Jubilee Centre. The article, “Christianity and Grassroots Citizen Mobilization: Lessons from Faith-Based Organizations in South Africa and Zambia” will be published in *African Affairs*, a premier journal in the field of African studies.



Tracy Kuperus and Amy Patterson, workshop organizers

“Community development among faith-based organizations on the African continent is ubiquitous,” noted Kuperus. “We also know

that political development has a long way to go on the continent, but to discuss and encourage the two realities simultaneously is rare. We were able to do that at this workshop, with practitioners and



Peter Tibi

Isabel Mukonyora

scholars talking freely and deeply about citizen mobilization among faith-based organizations on the African continent.”

Initial conversations about a second workshop in 2016 or 2017 are taking place, with tentative plans to invite directors of organizations involved with citizen mobilization in Sub-Saharan Africa to the event to encourage further development of citizen mobilization initiatives within the organizations. ~



Spiwo Xapile at JL Zwane Centre



For more information about the Workshop, participants and sessions: <http://henry.calvin.edu/projects/citizen-mobilization-in-africa/>

Faith-Based Rights Mobilization in Africa: Comparative Reflections

Kevin R. den Dulk

(Excerpts from a session at the workshop)

As a political scientist, I am very interested in the question of what it means to be a faithful disciple who is also a responsible citizen.

I find it useful to consider the question by looking at three aspects of responsible citizenship: **opportunities**, **means**, and **motives**. The **opportunities** center around the structures and frameworks in place to enable citizenship, including the state, the rule of law, the role of the church, and more. The organization and structure of faith-based groups is also part of the framework.

The **means** for responsible citizenship examine resources that are available to people and involves a discussion of how to build social capital. The workshop has discussed some of these “means” including norms and networks that foster collective decision-making, such as trust.

Finally, in examining potential **motives** for responsible citizenship, we have considered holding to a public theology—meaning that when we take seriously the responsibility to uphold human dignity, we find that we *must* participate in civic behavior and public life.

You are considering some of the same issues being explored by religious groups and individuals all around the world. There is significant concern that organizations are being influenced by the state to the point that they lose impact as *faith-based* groups. Some would argue that churches have the most political influence when they are perceived as the least political—or perhaps as the least *partisan*.

Still, the Church *must* be involved in public life—it *must* help to foster responsible citizenship. But the church must also continue to be the church and keep itself distinct to maintain its influence. Finally, to the extent that churches are involved in fostering public life, they have to keep focused on the goal of holding and imagining hope—of holding a hopeful vision for the future.

Recordings of the Workshop sessions can be found on the Henry Institute website: <http://henry.calvin.edu/projects/citizen-mobilization-in-africa/>



The Church's Freedom and the Church's Witness

Dr. John Inazu is an Associate Professor of Law and Political Science at Washington Univ. in St. Louis, where he also serves as Affiliate Faculty at the John C. Danforth Center on Religion & Politics. The following is a summary of his lecture, given for the 2014 Rule of Law Lecture Series.



As a Christian, I believe that the church is distinct from other civil society organizations (like fraternities, clubs or scouting groups) and that it warrants special protection under the law, but today, we will consider the Constitutional question of whether those differences are sustainable as a matter of law and the fact that the concept is losing political and legal relevance in our increasingly secular society.



The argument for freedom of the church in American Constitutional law gained traction with the 2012

Supreme Court decision in *Hosanna-Tabor*. A fired religious school teacher filed suit against her employer, and the school responded that the church should be able to select its own ministers without government interference, seeking the legal protection of the “ministerial exception.” A unanimous Supreme Court agreed. Yet, in spite of the court’s ruling, I am not optimistic about ongoing support for religious freedom in the U.S.

There are difficulties in translating the idea of freedom of the church into settings beyond ministerial exceptions. Understanding religious freedom as it extends to churches, mosques, and synagogues is easy, and we can see how some religious institutions (like schools) that are not formally houses of worship can still fall under a doctrine of the freedom

of the church. But what about more powerful institutions that are formally tied to churches, such as colleges or hospitals? And the emergence of groups like Young Life and Intervarsity who explicitly disclaim the “church” label stretch the distinction further yet.

My skepticism of the constitutional workability of freedom of the church extends to arguments for religious liberty more generally. Free exercise of religion is extremely important, vital to our society and constitutionally required. But in the 1990 Supreme Court case *Employment Division v. Smith* involving Native Americans who lost their jobs for using peyote for religious reasons, the Court ruled that the religious liberty claim received no special protection against a generally applicable law (applying to everyone and not singling out religious believers), notwithstanding First Amendment rights. And clearly, most laws are generally applicable.

The Supreme Court’s 1990 peyote decision remains the current Constitutional law today—so protections under the First Amendment Free Exercise of Religion clause are very limited outside

the narrow protection for ministers. Additionally, traditional justifications for religious liberty protections have been minimized as our free and democratic society has developed. There is a sense in which fewer people today in our society recognize the immediate and practical need for legal protections for free exercise of religion. As a practical matter, many Americans are already free to practice religion without government constraints, and there is an ever-growing number of Americans who are functionally non-religious and have no need for free exercise protections.

I believe that some protections can be gained by examining other rights guaranteed in the First Amendment and further defined by the Court during the past half century. Free speech rights are now recognized to protect the actual moment of gathering and expressing opinions in most groups, and the right of expressive association has been recognized by the court to apply to the group *prior* to the moment of gathering. Thus, the speech framework focuses solely on the externally expressed message, and the expressive association framework focuses only on the group.

“...favorable religious liberty legislation will be increasingly difficult to enact in coming years...”

But this approach ignores the ways that many people actually interact, often in times that precede moments of expression. We spend time together in groups; we have communication that is internally directed. We do things that might not be political, but are important socially. Something is lost when we miss the group’s practices that are ongoing and precede its spoken message. I believe this hole is filled by respecting the right of assembly.

And, I think these arguments are the proper and best way to understand the protections of the First Amendment. They are also arguments that tend to resonate with the broader culture more than considerations grounded in religious liberty.

Meaningful constitutional protections for the private groups of civil society depend on the premise of pluralism—on the recognition that we live in a society with deep disagreements that permeate our beliefs, values, identities, groups and practices. Today’s disagreements extend to complex issues like religious liberty, gay

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Politics, Worship, and Citizenship

Worship and Citizenship in an Age of Divisive Politics

January 28, 2016

[part of the Calvin Institute of Christian Worship’s *Symposium on Worship*]

One of our callings as Christians is to be active as resourceful and redemptive citizens of the countries in which we live—a vexing challenge in an age of political division in so many countries around the world. How should aspects of worship, including preaching, public prayer, and other acts, relate to this? How can music and other artworks contribute to sanctifying and redemptive approaches? How does worship form us for faithful citizenship without becoming politicized? What might this look like not only in the United States and Canada, but also in Palestine and Singapore?

Join Henry Institute Director **Kevin den Dulk** (host and moderator) for this thought-provoking session.

Registration information available at: <http://worship.calvin.edu/news-events/events/2016-symposium-on-worship/>

New Publication on Religion and Political Institutions

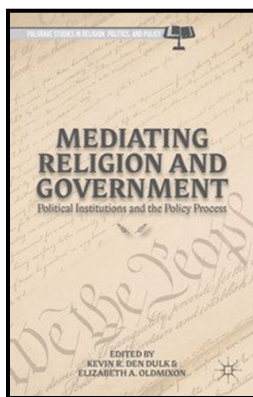
In November 2014, Palgrave Macmillan Publishers released the most recent work by Institute Director Kevin den Dulk, co-authored with Elizabeth Oldmixon.

Mediating Religion and Government: Political Institutions and the Policy Process investigates the influence of religion on and within political institutions, starting with the premise that in a democracy, political institutions mediate the effect of religion on political attitudes and the policy process.

The empirical study of religion and politics emerged historically as a strongly behavioral sub-discipline within political science in the late twentieth century. Particularly in the American context, scholars have placed great emphasis upon religion's influence on political attitudes and behaviors. As a result, there is a much better understanding of the potency of religion in shaping voting patterns, party affiliation, and views of public policy. Further extending this study,

the authors argue that in a Madisonian sense, institutions are at the fulcrum of mass politics and policy outputs.

Each chapter of the book provides examination of a particular institution (including the presidency, Congress, interest groups, or political parties) with original research contributing to existing theory. By addressing historical, contemporary, constitutional, and policy-based elements of religious interactions within



politics, the book creates a wide-ranging assessment of the sometimes contentious relationship between these two pillars of American culture.

~
To purchase: <http://henry.calvin.edu/about-the-institute/books/>

“At long last we have a systematic examination of the role of religion in American political institutions. A stellar group of scholars probes the religious impact in Congress, the presidency, political parties, the courts, the bureaucracy, the statehouse, and beyond.”

Allen Hertzke, University of Oklahoma,
Director of the Pew Research Center's Study
“Lobbying for the Faithful”

“Political scientists may have ‘rediscovered’ American religion, but not, by and large, its relationship to political institutions. This excellent volume goes a long way toward filling that gap. An impressive roster of leading scholars demonstrates not only how religion affects institutions, but also how institutions fundamentally shape religiously-inspired preferences and their expression in politics.”

Geoffrey Layman,
University of Notre Dame

The Church's Witness (continued from page 4)

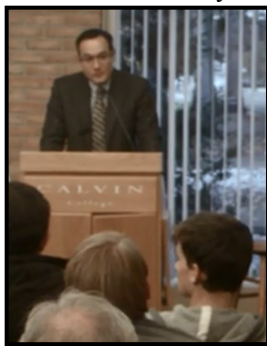
rights, immigration, abortion, contraception, poverty, foreign policy, education, and others. People disagree sharply about the causes of our problems and solutions to them, and our differences press against the claim that we are a unified nation with a common good. On one side, we share agreement about much in society, finding common ground about public roads, national security and fire departments.

claims about being “on the right side of history” and “doing the right thing,” leading to serious questions about who will listen to arguments about pluralism, particularly when pluralism *assumes* the legitimacy of critique and the acceptability of differences.

As I close the lecture, we must yet consider where “witness of the church” from the title of my talk comes into play. I believe pluralist arguments are entirely consistent with the witness of the church, and in fact, lead to robust protection for all groups in civil society—which will unquestionably include the church and thereby protect the church's witness. But they do so without appealing to arguments grounded in the particularity of the church, since these will increasingly fall on deaf ears. This is not to say that we or anyone else should give up proclaiming the church's particularity to the world. To the contrary, the protections of pluralism will and should maintain space to proclaim that difference. I've begun to refer to this idea as “confident pluralism”—it does not require Christians to suppress or minimize firmly held convictions, and it allows for the kinds of differences that most people actually hold, rather than trying to paper over those variations for the sake of a false unity.

Instead, confident pluralism takes both confidence and pluralism seriously. We

can embrace pluralism because we are confident in our convictions and beliefs and in the groups and institutions that sustain them. We can engage in and even encourage disagreements out of our own confidence in what we believe. Confident pluralism that has grown out of confidence in the gospel is one way to engage more fruitfully in the culture. For Christians and the church, the proper confidence is always in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and that confidence allows us to participate in a pluralistic world. It allows the church to move forward, regardless of the legal challenges that await. ~



We agree about the right to vote, to due process, and to free speech.

But all this agreement tells us little about who we are as a people and what our goals should be, and little about our common good. With the exception of

fleeting bits of patriotism around our greatest wars and tragedies, we have usually lacked a broadly shared common good or common identity. More often, we have assumed unity in critical cases while the overall disagreements in society set up the fact of today's pluralism.

And although these societal differences are real, pluralism is under attack. After three decades of emphasizing acceptance for all kinds of competing viewpoints, there is suddenly a striking embrace of a new kind of orthodoxy. From highly secularized corners, there are increasing



To view the complete lecture, go to <https://vimeo.com/114241598>. An interview with Dr. Inazu can be found at <https://vimeo.com/114717362>.

John Inazu's most recent book is *Liberty's Refuge: The Forgotten Freedom of Assembly* (Yale University Press, 2012).

More than 35 years ago, Paul Henry organized the first Conference on Christianity and Politics while he was a professor at Calvin—seeking to raise visibility and define a new level of political and social activism in the Christian community, and providing an opportunity for students and members of the community to hear widely ranging perspectives on the relationship between faith and public life.

His legacy of encouraging the serious consideration of the important interplay between these two fields continues through the Institute’s programs today in both the biennial Symposium on Religion and Public Life and the annual Henry Lecture, as well as through numerous other lectures and projects sponsored by the Henry Institute each year.

For three days at the end of April, more than 120 individuals attended the 2015 Henry Institute Symposium on Religion and Public Life at the Prince Conference Center on Calvin College’s campus. The Symposium has evolved from Henry’s first events to the current focus of a more academic perspective, with various individuals presenting papers on their research and ideas about faith and public life. The early emphasis of including “hands-on”

practitioners in government and politics from the initial Conferences on Christianity and Politics is now reflected more in the annual Henry Lectures (see related article on page 10).

Sixty-two papers were presented at the spring event, ranging from theoretical perspectives to case studies, and including consideration of evangelical and mainline Christian, Catholic, Muslim, and Black Protestant viewpoints.

Topics embraced global concerns, generational differences, historical evaluations, and theoretical considerations. For the first time, the Symposium included three roundtable discussions on current event topics, with the general public invited to



Exhibitors at the Symposium



Kuyper Lecturer Rev. David Kim (right) and session respondents Vincent Bacote, Katie Thompson, and Kevin den Dulk



Breakout session participants

attend these special sessions. Topics included a consideration of responses to ISIS, the recent Hobby Lobby Supreme Court decision and religious freedom rights, and the relationship between sustainable community development and Christian action.

The religious freedom/Hobby Lobby roundtable included panel members on both sides of the debate about the implementation of religious freedom provisions, with the Michigan ACLU helping to sponsor the session. “When the ACLU first approached us about scheduling an open event to discuss the Supreme Court decision, we felt it provided an excellent opportunity to follow Paul’s

[Henry] example and teaching about

considering differing perspectives and opinions with respect and tolerance,” noted Institute Director Kevin den Dulk. “The religious freedom issue is very pertinent right now, with recent court rulings and many faith-based organizations faced with the actual implications of legal changes.”

The sustainable community development panel included speakers with international, national and local experience and perspectives in providing Christian justice and shalom in helping the less fortunate. The discussion was passionate and heartfelt, with the participants and speakers at the roundtable sharing a

calling to move forward using methods that respect individual dignity and improving lives in ways that are sustainable and positive in the long run.

Participants at the “Responding to ISIS” panel left the session with a renewed awareness that the conflict in the Middle East is difficult, deeply rooted, historically complex, and logistically complicated. According to Robert DeVries, who chaired the panel, “The issues, religious factions, historical intricacies, and international involvements in the Middle East are so intertwined and complicated that it is difficult to foresee positive outcomes. Still, as committed Christians, we are called to involvement and working toward justice and reconciliation.”

In April of 2017, the next Symposium on Religion and Public Life will be convened. There will be no shortage of current issues, extensive research, and interesting opinions to be considered again as the Henry Institute calls participants to consider widely ranging perspectives on the relationships between faith and public life. ~

See the 2015 Symposium Program at <http://henry.calvin.edu/programs/symposium/past.html>



Panel discussants participate in the “Responding to ISIS” roundtable session

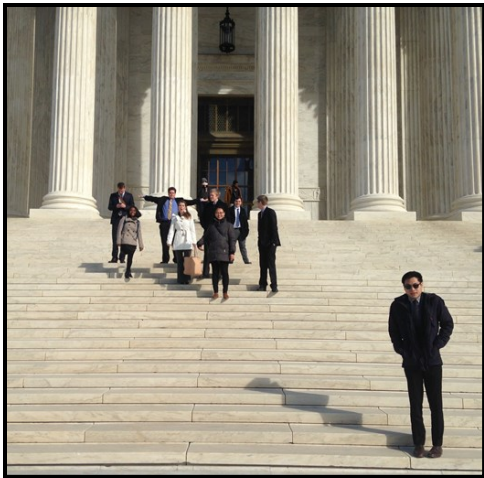


Students Intern in Washington D.C. for Spring Semester

At the end of January, fifteen Calvin College students headed to Washington D.C. for their spring semester. They spent the next 13 weeks working at internships, experiencing the nation's capital, completing coursework on Latin America, and visiting numerous faith-based organizations and famous sites.

Dan Miller, a professor from Calvin's history department, accompanied the group and taught a course on U.S.-Latin American Relations, which included visits to the Mexican and Brazilian Embassies and to the Cuban Interests Section. The class explored relations between the United States and the nations of Latin America from the end of the colonial era to the present, examining Caribbean interventions, the "Good Neighbor" policy, militarization of the U.S. during the Cold War, contemporary issues, and other topics.

As part of the "Faith and Public Life" class, the group met with representatives from a number of different organizations, including the NAACP, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the Center for Public Justice, the National

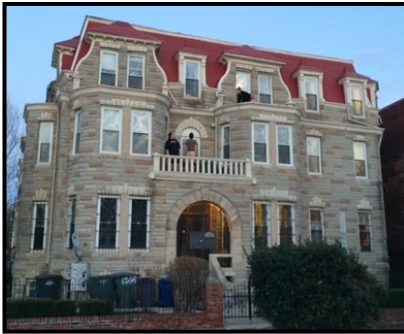


Association of Evangelicals, Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, the National Council of Churches, and others. They considered the goals and objectives of the groups, particularly in the light of each organization's vision for making an impact on U.S. policy.



During the semester, the group toured the Pentagon, the National Cathedral, the White House, the Supreme Court (including observing a case), the Islamic Center and Mosque, the Newseum, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress. Michigan Congressman Bill Huizinga hosted the group for an evening at the Capitol, personally leading them on a tour, and talking about his work and calling as a Christian politician.

Cultural outings were a regular part of the program as the group attended modern dance and ballet performances, classical and pops



symphony and gospel choir concerts, theater and jazz events.

The students lived together in a large refurbished home in the city, where they experienced communal living, had class sessions, and shared a kitchen—which required some scheduling and cooperation when fifteen hungry people arrived home from work hoping to make dinner.

According to one of the students, "Living in Greystone House was a significant part of the Semester and helped to form the strong bonds that we developed as a group. It was great to be able to vicariously experience a lot of different internships as we listened to our housemates talk about their work, experiences, and jobs!" ~

See related article on pages 8 and 9



2015 Participants

Connor Bakker
Congressional Study Group

Michael Bloem
Federal Reserve

Jae Eun Chang
Korean Embassy

Ainsley Goh
Churches for Middle East Peace

Erik Kraayeveld
Congressman Bill Huizinga

Sydney Lee
State Department Human Rights and Labor Office

Nathan Maring
Metro DC Police Detective Bureau

Alex Nieuwsma
National Archives

Destiny Nobles
Global Giving

Benjamin Ridder
American Foreign Policy Council

Sam Schuiteman
Senator Debbie Stabenow



Alicia Smit
Department of Justice Office of International Affairs

Addison Smith
Center for Strategic and International Studies

Kara Vogelzang
Human Rights Campaign

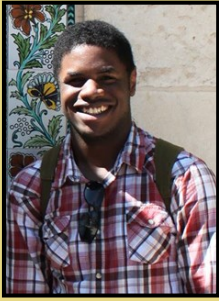
Chad Westra
East-West Center

Led by Professor Daniel Miller, Calvin College History Department and Kate Miller

Former Henry Institute Semester in Washington D.C. Interns

Where are they now?

Jordan Davis graduated from Calvin in 2013 with a History major and Archaeology minor. As a junior, he interned in the Publications Department at the Middle East Institute (MEI) as part of the 2012 Semester in Washington, D.C. While at MEI, Jordan edited and wrote content for *The Middle East Journal*, the oldest scholarly journal about the Middle East region in the United States.



After graduation Jordan served for a year in the AmeriCorps NCCC FEMA Corps program, working on a GIS specialist team to provide humanitarian assistance to unaccompanied Central American children on the United States-Mexico border and then returned to Washington, D.C. to support FEMA's Office of Environmental Planning and Historic Preservation. Currently, Jordan has returned to his hometown of Milwaukee where he is beginning a Masters program in Sustainable Peacebuilding at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

"My internship at MEI was a crucial turning point during my time at Calvin. As part of the Leadership Development Internship Program at MEI, I worked alongside and befriended a group of diverse young professionals from a wide array of academic disciplines as well as cultural and religious backgrounds. While my history major provided research and critical thinking skills that I will continue to rely upon as a graduate student, my participation in the Henry Semester and my internship at MEI expanded my horizons beyond academia. My fondest memory of my MEI internship was having lunch with a former MEI Vice President for Development, who had previously served with the United Nations in Gaza and Sudan—a mentor who inspired me to pursue a vocation in peacebuilding."

Ryan Hunt participated in the first Henry Semester in 2000. Finding an internship was difficult, and none of his top tier choices panned out. Just weeks before the semester began, he finally landed a spot at the Embassy of Ecuador. The internship was a perfect fit: it allowed him to connect his majors in Political Science and Spanish, to get a taste for how other governments function and interact with our own, and to recognize that international affairs wasn't the area of political science he wanted to pursue. Ryan returned to Calvin at the end of the semester (working as Prof. Doug Koopman's research assistant for his Paul Henry book, *Serving the Claims of Justice*) to finish his senior year.

Upon graduation, Ryan immediately moved to Washington D.C. and began answering phones and opening mail for Senator Dianne Feinstein, his home state senator from California. Over 10 years with Senator Feinstein, he progressed from the mailroom, to writing correspondence, to serving as lead Appropriations staff. He now is a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee, where his portfolio includes Department of the Interior and Forest Service programs (with periodic trips to national parks, monuments and forests). Ryan and his wife Rebecca live, worship and garden on the eastern edge of Capitol Hill.

"I consider my Washington semester to be pivotal in leading me to where I am today. Most importantly, I discovered D.C. and was sure this was a place I wanted to live. I learned that my Calvin education prepared me just as well or better for the working world as people with advanced degrees from big name schools. And it gave me the opportunity to figure out I didn't like foreign relations as much as I thought I did for a career path. That's why I enjoy mentoring current Calvin interns: I want to introduce them to this terrific city and let them know that even if you don't get your first choice internship, it's going to be a great experience!"



Susanna Lynch was a Calvin senior majoring in Biochemistry when she participated in the 2010 D.C. Semester, interning at the Stimson Center's Global Health Security Program, working on health policy issues.

"The time in Washington D.C. was instrumental in my personal and professional development. I ultimately learned I wanted to address health needs on a one-to-one clinical basis, but I gained a better understanding of the function of global health policy and U.S. politics through the semester's coursework and lectures with Dr. Corwin Smidt. I also had the privilege of exploring the nation's capital with my classmates while living on Capitol Hill. How many people can say their metro stop was Union Station, saw cross-country skiers along Capitol Hill during "Snowmageddon" [when D.C. received 20 inches of snow in 24 hours, and the city completely closed down for several days], and visited the U.S. Botanic Garden on their weekend walks?"

Following graduation, Susanna spent two years doing research at the National Institutes of Health in Maryland, where she met her fiancé. She is currently a fourth-year medical student at Eastern Virginia Medical School in Norfolk, and is applying for an internal medicine residency.

So-heon Park graduated from Calvin in 2011 with majors in International Relations and French. Her last semester with Calvin was spent in the Semester in Washington D.C. Program, when she interned at For Love of Children, a non-profit organization providing educational services beyond the classroom for low income students. So-heon worked as a site coordinator to manage tutoring sites and volunteers, as well as writing and editing new language curriculum for young children.

"I was interested in human rights issues, and also wanted to get experience working for NGOs, and my internship definitely did this! After graduation, I worked for Civilian Fellowship for the International Exchange in Seoul, South Korea helping with legal counseling for foreign workers in the country. I also started and led Official Development Assistance (ODA) work for the organization. I led field research in rural Nepal to carry out an ODA project to build a library and community center and secured an \$82,000 government grant to assist the organization! I believe the Semester in D.C. program helped me see how valuable it is to work for NGOs and prepared me to work in the 'real field.' "

Currently, So-heon is a second year student at Regent University School of Law, and for the summer of 2015 has been an intern in Seoul, South Korea, at Advocates for Public Interest Law, a non-profit, public interest lawyers' organization dedicated to defending the human rights of refugees, victims of human trafficking, stateless persons, long-term detained migrants, and the victims of human rights abuses committed by Korean Corporations abroad. She is involved in researching law in the European Union, as well as in countries such as Cameroon, Liberia, and Lesotho, particularly to assist lawyers who are working for refugees. She is also researching alternatives to detention for immigrant children in South Korea, since currently there are no regulations to prohibit their detention.



After participating in the 2007 Henry Semester in Washington D.C. as an intern at Delphi Corporation, and graduating from Calvin with degrees in Political Science and Communications (Rhetoric), **Nate Knapper** went on to Pepperdine University School of Law. He received his J.D. in 2011, earning top grades in legal Research and Writing, Dispute Resolution in Education, and in Interviewing, Counseling and Planning, as well as being granted the top-ranked Straus Institute for Dispute Resolution Certification.



From there, Nate began working for the Attorney General's Office in Michigan, where he has served on the Human Trafficking Commission and the School Safety Task Force and is currently Assistant Attorney General. In 2014, Knapper ran for Michigan State Representative for the 43rd House District.

"The Henry Semester's purpose is very comparable to the notion of traveling to a foreign country in order to gain fluency in a particular language as you are immersed in the culture where that language is spoken. Similarly, American political culture is often a foreign reality to most students, and effective political engagement requires a degree of immersion in the culture and conversation of American policymaking. The Paul Henry Semester facilitates this experience, offering students an opportunity to live and work in the heart of the nation's capital, where important policies are debated and adopted. Examining American political developments through the lens of faith, the program helps prepare future leaders to let their own lights shine in the public square."



Amanda Stek majored in Political Science at Calvin and was part of the 2007 Henry Institute Semester in Washington D.C. program. Amanda was an intern with the Save Darfur Coalition during her final semester at Calvin, and the experience exposed her to the world of international advocacy and development. Her work with the Save Darfur Coalition motivated her to seek an internship in India for the following

summer, where she worked with victims of human trafficking. Amanda quickly became committed to furthering her experience and education in the field of International Development.

"The D.C. Semester was a wonderful opportunity to explore my interests in a city filled with individuals and organizations committed to global care. It gave me the chance to learn about NGOs, non-profits, International Organizations, and private companies that are doing development work in countries I was interested in. Without the semester experience, my understanding of how the job market and professional opportunities aligned with my interest areas would have been limited."

Amanda completed her MA in International Relations at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAID) in Washington D.C. and then moved to Indonesia as a Team Leader for Social Impact, Inc. where she now works on Monitoring and Evaluation for multiple clients in Southeast Asia. She is married to another Calvin College grad and has a 4 month old daughter.

Rachel Jacobs Gainor was one of the first Social Work students to participate in the DC Semester, when that option first became part of the program in 2005. She interned with Good Shepherd Housing and Family Services, working with low-income families to provide housing and utility assistance. After graduating from Calvin with a Bachelor in Social Work, Rachel joined Americorps in D.C. and worked at Miriam's Kitchen as a Case Manager, a position she found through her former internship supervisor, whose husband worked at Miriam's Kitchen (a perfect example of how D.C. is filled with connections, Rachel notes).

In 2007, she joined the Peace Corps to serve in a rural health clinic in Zambia for two years and then returned to Washington. She earned her

MSW from the University of Maryland and now works at the Office of Refugee Resettlement in their Division of Children's Services in Washington. Rachel also assists the D.C. Semester Social Work students, helping them find social work placements which will fulfill their final academic requirements for graduation, as well as debriefing with them during a weekly seminar. Rachel recently got married and bought a house in Alexandria, VA, just a few miles away from her Calvin internship site over 10 years ago.



"The experiences I had through the D.C. semester have helped shape me into the person I am today. During the internship, I fell in love with D.C. because it had so many opportunities for learning about the connections between policy, social work, and social justice. These are lessons I take with me in my work with the Federal Government today. I was also able to attend rallies against genocide in Darfur, witness historic Supreme Court votes, eat amazing ethnic food, and build lifelong friendships."

Scott Tipton was part of the 2013 Semester in Washington DC. His degree from Calvin was in Political Science-Public Administration, with a minor in business. After graduation, Scott relocated back to his original home in northeast Ohio and currently works as a business development and government relations professional for Kuhnlein & Martin, Inc. (DBA Martin & Tipton), a group medical practice providing consultative examinations from orthopedic and occupational medicine physicians across Ohio and adjacent states.

As a student on the D.C. Semester, Scott interned for the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA), a think tank chartered by Congress to provide independent, non-partisan performance evaluation and analysis of governmental agencies and programs. He worked with the organizational branch which cultivates relationships with prospective clients in the Beltway and throughout the U.S. Scott also shadowed the organization's Director of Project Development and many Senior Advisors through their prospective studies involving groups such as the Office of Management and Budget at the White House, the U.S. Postal Service, the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the District of Columbia, and several major corporations. His chief project for the semester included researching prospective federal contracting opportunities and presenting his findings to the development team and upper level management.



"My internship was a perfect fit, and contributed immensely to my professional growth and interests in business development and government relations. Coupled with rigorous academic coursework, my experiences in Washington provided a strong foundation as I transitioned out of college and into my current position. On a personal level, I grew tremendously during the D.C. program, and I would recommend it to any Calvin student looking to broaden their academic, professional, and spiritual horizons. I draw from my D.C. Semester experiences every day, and I am very thankful to those who encouraged me to participate. If I had the opportunity to do it all over again, I would do so in a heartbeat!"

Bad Religion: How We Became a Nation of Heretics

A Conversation with Ross Douthat

Ross Douthat is a weekly Op-Ed columnist for the New York Times and film critic for National Review. His most recent book is *Bad Religion: How We Became a Nation of Heretics* (Free Press, 2013).

The following summary is of an interview conducted by Institute Director Kevin den Dulk after Douthat presented the annual Paul B. Henry Lecture in April 2015. The lecture (“The Future of American Christianity: The Christian Crisis of the 20th Century and its Implications on the 21st”) can be seen in its entirety at <https://vimeo.com/127742946>.



den Dulk: The book you most recently wrote, *Bad Religion*, is about how Christian orthodoxy has given way to a fragmentation of heresies. How did that happen and why the modifier “bad”?

Douthat: Over the last 50-60 years, Americans became less institutionally religious without being less spiritually inclined. We, our parents and grandparents have lived through an era in which institutional expressions of Christianity became less influential in American culture. But people didn’t all turn into atheists—they were secularized in certain ways but retained strong interests in religious ideas and beliefs, making room for what I’m calling heresy. I use examples such as Oprah Winfrey, Joel Osteen, Dan Brown’s *DaVinci Code*, Elizabeth Gilbert’s *Eat, Pray, Love*—individualized, relativistic, do-it-yourself forms of faith.

From the point of orthodox Christian belief, specific theological and intellectual issues simply exist, so it’s very hard to see this very individualistic, post-institutional faith playing a social role and supplying the common ground that is traditionally associated with religion in the U.S. to support social capital, charitable giving, etc. There is something essential about membership, constitutional belonging, and community to religious social benefits, and as that belonging (and, to some extent, submission to a long-standing tradition) is lost, some of the benefits are lost as well—in ways that even a secular observer would recognize and concede.

den Dulk: This concern about individualism in the U.S. has been with us for some

time and has been raised throughout history. Is it different today?

Douthat: There are cycles, recurrences, and returns in American history where some periods are more individualistic, and some are of greater solidarity. We exist in the shadow of post-World War II America—with its stronger churches, more robust Christian orthodoxy, and stronger institutions across the board (stronger families, greater trust in government and so on). You could see this as just a cyclical process with a certain point where the pendulum will swing back in another direction, but my concern is that we could reach a point where that cycle doesn’t pertain and it’s just ongoing heresy.

den Dulk: At the end of the book, you are pretty explicit about your pessimism. But you say there are things that can be done to have a pluralistic outlook while still maintaining convictions. How do you envision the things we should try from a Christian perspective?

Douthat: The things I say we ought to try are related to my view of what Christ is and has been—and how faith has flourished historically. Christianity is a confessional religion, with the basic confession being that Jesus Christ has risen from the dead. You need, ultimately, a confession to be a Christian church. We’ve been through periods of decline and revival, but when we think about survival, what do we consider? Holy men and women, explosions of Christian culture, and real theological debates, such as the Reformation. Past theological arguments set in motion what we know as modern Catholicism and modern reformed Christian faith. It’s a mistake to assume that strong theology is incidental to the Christian future when these arguments are actually part of the bedrock.

...it is a great blessing as a Christian to walk in the pathways of the past, finding a faith and idea that you recognize and hold at its core.

den Dulk: How do you think about the conservative point of view in all of this?

Douthat: The conservative position believes human nature doesn’t change as much as people think it does, and therefore we have a great deal to learn from the human past. Continuity and connection with the past is a great part of being fully human. In a lot of debates, modern society

is oriented towards the future; we talk about history in the sense of where it is going and how the future will judge us—of “being on the right side of history.”

But from a conservative perspective, the past stands in judgment on the present as much as the future does. Since we actually know about the past, the conservative tries to be in dialogue with what we know about the human race historically as much, or more than, with the hypothetical future. In contemporary debates about Christianity, the broadly defined liberal side has too much eagerness to assume that something totally new is about to happen and that we can, to some extent, always totally create Christianity anew. And while it is supposed to be a living religion, it is a great blessing as a Christian to walk in the pathways of the past, finding a faith and idea that you recognize and hold at its core. That “sameness” is part of the argument for why Christianity is true. In today’s controversies, we have to be able to keep that gift of recognizing the faith of Luther, Thomas Moore, Aquinas, Augustine, and the gospel writers themselves in our mind.

den Dulk: Given both the Christian and conservative dispositions, and how they overlap, how do you think through an issue like same-sex marriage?

Douthat: This has become the sharpest point of division among Christian churches today. If you are reading the signs of the times and the experience of American culture, there is tremendous pressure on Christian churches to rewrite Christian teaching on marriage, and by extension Christian teaching on sexuality. Where my Christianity and my conservatism intersect, such revision is hard—and likely impossible—to do. In certain ways, the arguments around these issues are very new, and it’s a mistake to

make a sweeping judgment about where things will end up. But my impression right now is that the intellectual structure you have to build to reach the point where churches are blessing same-sex marriage is a structure that is a radically different view of sexuality, the human person and the trustworthiness of scripture. It is a revision



Institute Director Joins Board of Michigan Center for Civic Education

In 2014, Institute Director Kevin R. den Dulk was appointed to the Board of the Michigan Center for Civic Education (MCCE). The MCCE supports the development of engaged responsible citizens through law-related and civic education, a goal which is also mirrored in the Henry Institute’s mission to motivate and train future scholars, citizens and practitioners to integrate their faith with public life. The Institute is dedicated to creating a new generation of scholars and public servants who are engaged, active and aware of the importance of the interplay between Christianity and public life.

The MCCE was originally founded in

1982 as the Michigan Law-Related Education Project in a joint effort between the state’s Department of Education, the Michigan State Police, Michigan State University’s College of Education, Oakland Schools, and the State Bar of Michigan. MCCE sponsors state and national programs to support teachers through professional development and curriculum resources; to engage students; to advocate with policy-makers and educators; and to develop partnerships and networks. They strive to create experiences that are relevant, rigorous, and connected to real life.

The Center’s work is supported by an experienced staff and a large group of committed volunteers.

Numerous programs are administered by the MCCE including: *Educating for Citizenship* (an annual conference for teachers); the development of K-12 curriculum materials; *Civitas*; student-directed programs and competitions, such as *Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation*, *i-Civics*, *Mock Trial* tournaments; *We the People* competitions that focus on knowledge of the U.S. Constitution; and the *Youth Law Conference*.

The *Mock Trial Tournament* encourages students to learn more about the judicial process, but its benefits extend beyond the team competition. A lawyer-coach from the program reported: “*Mock Trial* provides the opportunity for young people

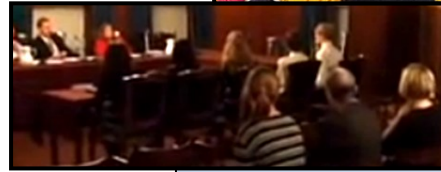


Institute Director den Dulk served as a judge for the 2014-15 *We the People* competitions, at both the local and national level. “*We the People* is a program that gets students thinking seriously about the Constitution through a competition. It is a signature program of the MCCE and its national parent organization. I always come away from judging the competition feeling a whole lot better about the future of citizenship in the United States.”



Students Say:

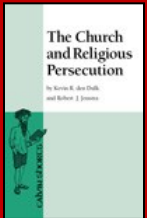
“*We the People* has inspired me to participate and learn more about our government.”
“*We the People* has made me think more deeply about politics and has given me an interest to get involved.”
“*We the People* has expanded my speaking abilities, as well as my confidence in front of others. I felt proud of my opening essay, as well as my ability to back up my beliefs.”



to participate in a very realistic trial setting. It gives incentives for creative thinking, creative work and an opportunity to work through a problem when a judge “throws a curve” by making an unanticipated ruling during the presentation. It provides young folks with the opportunity to develop self-confidence, self-assurance, and to learn the value of preparation, preparation, and preparation.” ~

The Church and Religious Persecution

The most recent publication (August 2015) from *Calvin Shorts*, written by Kevin R. den Dulk and Robert J. Joustra



Religious persecution is on the rise. Daily news stories and social science research chronicle the suffering of Christians and those of other faiths at the hands of both governments and private citizens. Yet, with few exceptions, the North American church has been largely absent from serious action that addresses this global problem. *The Church and Religious Persecution* examines the nature and scope of religious persecution worldwide, explores the response of the church, and proposes steps church leaders and members can take to stand up for religious freedom and build a faith-based movement against persecution.

<http://www.calvincollegepress.com/>

Conversation with Douthat (continued from page 10)

that is hard to reconcile with the view of Christianity as something with a core which has existed from the beginning. After such revision, it seems difficult to sustain that core; you can do it in very liberal theological terms, with the original witness of the church being just a provisional witness, open to constant revision by the Holy Spirit. But I feel that is neither a reformed nor a Catholic theological position. As much as I understand where the drive for this revision is coming from, I find it hard to see it happening without first breaking the church and then transforming the church into a different form of Christianity.

den Dulk: Yet that cultural change is

happening, and it’s probably inevitable as a political question, so what might be the political response of churches?

Douthat: The cultural debate has shifted to the extent that conservative Christians (those holding to the traditional understanding of what marriage is) have very little political power at the national level to shape our fate. More depends on what the winning side wants to do—to push beyond same-sex marriage and figure out how they want to bring churches and the religious community to heel, putting more pressure on them to change around the issues of tax exempt status, government contracts, etc. Or whether, once victory is accomplished, some of the energy goes out of that push.

From the point of view of churches and schools, you have to be prepared for at least the possibility of more sustained pressure on that front from outside, and from debates inside the church—as well as a greater distance between mainstream America and orthodox Christianity then most Christians are comfortable with. ~

To see the entire interview: <https://vimeo.com/131693846>



Institute Research Fellow Activities

Todd Huizinga joined the Henry Institute as a research fellow in 2013 and is also director of international outreach at the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, both positions he accepted after retiring from 20 years of diplomatic service.

In the Foreign Service, Huizinga represented the U.S. in Luxembourg, Hamburg, Munich, Mexico, at the European Union in Brussels, and with embassies and consulates in Dublin, Frankfurt, Costa Rica, and at the European Affairs Bureau of the U.S. Department of State.

A frequent public speaker on international affairs, Huizinga is a native of Michigan. He graduated from Calvin College with degrees in Music and German, and earned his M.A. in German Language and Literature from the University of Wisconsin.

In 2013, with Henk Jan van Schothorst, Huizinga established the Transatlantic

“Henk and I founded the TCC to address the need to bring Christians in public life



together across the Atlantic, with the goal of counteracting pervasive secularization in the public square in both Europe and America. Secularization has resulted in weakening the transatlantic commitment to the

foundational Western values and institutions that are rooted in the Christian world view.”

Christian Council (TCC), a non-profit corporation promoting limited government, free market, individual liberty and civic virtue in Europe and America. In September 2014, the TCC held its first conference in Washington, including meetings with U.S. government officials, visits to non-profit organizations, and presentations and discussions at the Library of Congress.

Mary (Li) Ma has served as a research fellow with the Henry Institute since 2012. Ma graduated from Wuhan University of Technology (English Literature), and earned a Masters from the University of Oxford and PhD from Cornell University, both in sociology. She taught at Tongji University (Shanghai), and then came to the U.S. for additional schooling. Ma is currently taking classes at Calvin Theological Seminary while also working under a research grant from Purdue University’s Center for the Study of Chinese Religion and Society.

Ma’s research includes issues grounded in political sociology, sociology of religion, and economic sociology—particularly related to China. She is currently working on a socio-historical analysis of the emergence of house churches in China between 1949 and 1979.

Most recently, Ma has published articles and book chapters with co-author Jin Li, including “Faith Going Public” (*China*

“From 2010 to 2013, [our] three-year ethnographic study focused on how religious belief relates to identity formation and action motivation in the context of China’s current dynamic transformation. The results demonstrate that the religious activities undertaken and values transmitted by Christian individuals, congregations, and faith-based associations have reshaped the local civic space in significant ways... In contemporary China, the emergence of urban Protestant house churches and their increasing scale of civic engagement are challenging the status quo.”



Source); “Remaking the Civic Space” in *Christianity in Chinese Public Life: Religion, Society, and the Rule of Law*; “Saints, Space and the State” presented at the *Symposium on Religion and Public Life*; “Agents of Civility? A Two-City Comparison of Unregistered Protestant Churches in Urban China” (*Observations from the Sociological Field*); and “A Field Study of the ‘Almighty God’ Cult” (*China Source Quarterly*, Spring 2015).

Steve Monsma joined the Henry Institute in 2004 after retiring from a career of teaching political science first at Calvin College and then Pepperdine University, and serving in the Michigan Senate, House of Representatives, and Department of Social Services. His undergraduate education was at Calvin (history and political science), followed by a Masters from Georgetown and doctorate at Michigan State University, both in political science.

Monsma is a Board member for both the Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance and the Center for Public Justice, where he is a regular contributor to their *Capital Commentary*. He is a frequent public speaker on religious freedom rights, civil disobedience, the death penalty, and principled pluralism.

“Religious freedom issues have been in the news this past year, and my Institute position allows me to explore and write about these issues. I believe that we are a diverse, pluralistic society, and our attitudes and public policies should make room for persons and organizations with distinct views and standards. As Christians, we should not attempt to impose our views and practices onto others, but neither should nonbelievers attempt to impose their views and practices onto us, and the latter is increasingly happening in contemporary American society.”



Monsma is the author of *Pluralism and Freedom: Faith-Based Organizations in a Democratic Society; Healing for a Broken World; The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Democracies*; and *Faith, Hope and Jobs*. His most recent book (with Stanley Carlson-Thies) is *Free to Serve: Protecting the Religious Freedom of Faith-Based Organizations* (Baker Publishing) which addresses key issues in the U.S. today in the face of public opinion and recent Supreme Court rulings. Monsma is also working on a new edition of *The Challenge of Pluralism*, with J. Christopher Soper.

Corwin Smidt became a research fellow for the Institute after retiring as its Director and as a political science professor at Calvin College in 2012. His PhD and MA are from the University of Iowa, with his undergraduate work at Northwestern College.

Smidt’s most recent volumes include *American Evangelicals Today; The Disappearing God Gap: Religion in the 2008 Presidential Election; The Oxford Handbook on Religion and American*

“This newest book examines the evolving views and activities of Protestant clergy over the past two decades, including how changing theological orientations of clergy relate to the nature and level of engagement in American public life. Numerous fluctuations have occurred among clergy groups, including social composition, shifting theological beliefs, modified positions on public policy issues, views of appropriate clergy positions on and off the pulpit, and the church’s public witness within American society. The impacts of growing feminization of the clergy, changing ages at which clergy enter the ministry, and shifting degrees to which clergy are aligned with their congregations are also addressed.”



Politics; and Pews, Prayers, and Participation. His most recent book, *Pastors and Public Life: The Changing Face of American Protestant Clergy* will be published by Oxford University Press in early 2016.

Smidt regularly speaks publicly at conferences and community events, and presents research at professional venues. He is known for his academic research and writing, particularly on evangelical political beliefs and behavior.

As the current President-Elect of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Smidt will start as president in November 2015. He is a member of the American Political Science Association, the Association for Religious Research, and the Association for the Sociology of Religion. ~